WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

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REVOLUTION.

(W. J. Thomas).

[illegible] in a period of [illegible] pregnant with [illegible] society is in the [illegible] on, and when the [illegible] swept away, [illegible] ready to receive the [illegible] more equitable form of society [illegible] the race of man has known.

[illegible] great flood tide of [illegible] of [illegible] institutions [illegible] The people no longer [illegible] "right" of kings, Gov[illegible] and [illegible] and the change [illegible] socialism. The present [illegible] ling in the throes of [illegible] comes the birth of the new order. A complete change of the whole [illegible] ure is inevitable.

[illegible] foundations of society are moving. [illegible] workers of the world are burying the [illegible] of national differences, and are com[illegible] together upon a common understanding of [illegible] interest and class solidarity. They have [illegible] demand, and that is—that the class [illegible] society who produce the wealth of the [illegible]ld shall own control and enjoy the fruits [illegible] their labour. They are not merely asking [illegible] control of the world of industry, they are [illegible]ing control.

[illegible] we examine the march of human pr[illegible] we will note that at various intervals [illegible] form of society has completely [illegible] is to say a social revolution [illegible] [illegible]lution is usually spoken of by [illegible] observer, as though it was [illegible] dent or chance, the result of the [illegible] few master minds and NOT the result of irresistible and well ordered causes.

Revolution is the final result of a series of [illegible] contributing causes. It is the changing [illegible] in the chain of evolution.

[illegible] all-compelling law of nature [illegible] change. Life is change [illegible] universe is ever changing [illegible] constant. Human society being [illegible] natural phenomena is subject to this [illegible] change which we call evolution. Evo[illegible] based upon the fact that "the present [illegible] offspring of the past and the parent of [illegible] future."

[illegible]ry period of slow development is follow[illegible] a complete change of the fundamental [illegible]ple, or revolution."

[illegible] natural changes or revolutions [illegible] occurring before our very eyes, yet [illegible] grasp their significance in applying [illegible] law of change to society. The [illegible]bryo undergoes a series of slow evolu[illegible] changes for a period of nine months [illegible] birth. It develops from a cluster of [illegible]ry like cells, through the different forms [illegible] animal ancestors, until it reaches the [illegible] of the perfect human form. After long [illegible] of gradual evolutionary growth or de[illegible]ment the final result of Revolution is [illegible] at the moment of birth.

Another common instance of Revolution as [illegible] outcome of evolution is the development [illegible] chicken from the egg. It develops from [illegible] germinal spot through various stages [illegible] it reaches the fully developed chicken. [illegible] marks the changing point or revolution. [illegible] it is no longer able to adapt itself to its [illegible]ronment, it pecks its way out of the shell [illegible] enters an environment totally different to [illegible] one it had developed.

As far back as the eye of historical investi[illegible]tion can peer, society has been in a state [illegible] change. The human race has [illegible] the stages of savagery, bar[illegible] [illegible] slavery, feudalism and is now [illegible] wage slavery or capitalism and [illegible] to socialism.

[illegible] changes [illegible] society are based [illegible] cause, and that cause is the method of production, or the means by which the human race produce the means necessary for the sustaining of life.

[illegible] the catching [illegible] food, the domestication [illegible] the soil and the pro[illegible] the smelting and use of [illegible] the method of pro[illegible] of life are revolutionary [illegible] along the road of human progress.

[illegible] the method of production et [illegible] period determine the form [illegible] society in respect to government, but it [illegible] the ideas of morals and ethics, [illegible] idea of right and wrong, and also the particular form which the prevailing religious beliefs will assume.

The great Empires of classic [illegible] based upon chattel slavery. [illegible] production was by slave labor [illegible] was the absolute property of his master to dispose of as he thought fit, hence the ethics and morals, laws and religion of Rome, Greece, Persia, Egypt and Babylon were such as would support the system of society based upon chattel slavery.

[illegible] Roman Empire was brought [illegible] system upon which it flour[illegible] the decline of the Empire [illegible] slave owners were forced [illegible] to put their slaves [illegible] numbers upon the [illegible] estates producing food in[illegible] the large cities do[illegible] work. Further the supply [illegible] slaves [illegible] mostly captives of wars [illegible] Rome at the zenith of her [illegible] conquered the then known [illegible] world. Therefore, without other [illegible] conquer the supply of slaves must [illegible] come to an end. The conquering of Rome by the Goths and Vandals of what is now known as France and Germany, was also the result of this necessity. The great [illegible] uncivilised peoples were driven [illegible] the want of new pastures towards the con[illegible] of the Roman Empire, and when the [illegible] conflicts between the barbarians and the [illegible] took place, the Roman slaves rose in [illegible] their masters and assisted the [illegible]. Thus we see that Rome, like em[illegible] before and after, fell by the very system upon which her greatness as a world power [illegible] built.

The Goths brought a system of feudal government into the Roman Empire, the slaves, while not being the personal property of any one owner, were tied to the soil upon which they labored; that is to say, while it was not lawful to sell the body of the slave he was forced to work for the same feudal overlord as his father, and was passed from one owner to another as part of the working plant of the estate or farm. While the slave enjoyed a slightly greater amount of freedom under the feudal system than under the chattel slavery system his condition was still one of misery. The laws of that period, the ethics and morals, in fact the whole super-structure of society supported this system of feudalism.

Feudalism was in turn superseded by the present form of society known as Capitalism. Feudalism was killed by the very hand of society upon which it flourished. Side by side with the great feudal states that were "Free Towns" whose population were composed of free men, who were mostly engaged in manufacturing pursuits. This class being continually augmented by the serfs rose to be a considerable menace to the feudal barons. In England the destruction of the feudal state was brought about by the developing economic conditions. There was a great demand on the continent for wool, and the barons who were impoverished by their own civil wars and wars in Europe, found a ready source of income in the raising of sheep for their wool. The great estates were converted into sheep runs, and thousands of surfs were thus ejected from their little manorial holdings or farms. Where one estate supported thousands of serfs under the old system, it required but a few shepherds to tend the sheep under the new. The serfs were thus forced into the towns as free men. This was one of the main contributing causes of the overthrow of feudalism.

In France a small manufacturing class was gathering strength. The feudal system by the closed land monopoly and a very hard system of taxation, dug its own grave. The manufacturing class used the workers of that period to overthrow the feudal state by the great French Revolution.

The French Revolution [illegible] [illegible]pital [illegible]

About this time the discovery of steam as a motive power, the invention of the spinning jinny and also the paper making machine, and other mechanical inventions revolutionised the methods of production and laid the solid foundations of capitalism. This period of English history is known as the Industrial Revolution. With the changing of the methods of production the laws, morals, ethics and religious beliefs adapted themselves to the new state of affairs, and thus we see that what was right and moral under the feudal system was no longer right under the rising capitalistic system.

The steam engine broke down the old hand method of production. It caused the centralization of machines in factories. Where previously one crude machine could be worked by water power, now twenty could be worked from one engine. The spinning jinny and other machines abolished home labor by producing cheaper goods than those produced by hand, and thus drove many people into the rapidly rising manufacturing towns. The simplicity of the machines allowed them to be operated by women and child labor, thus replacing the labor of men. The most horrible and revolting conditions existed in the new factories. The men who had been replaced by the machines were highly incensed against the misery and injustice brought about by the introduction of the machines. They believed that the only remedy was to return to the old hand method of production. With this end in view they banded themselves together for the express purpose of destroying the factories and machines. These organisations were known as the "Luddites" or machine breakers. This primitive method proved of no avail. The machine fulfilled a human want; it was a step forward in the march of progress and had come to stay.

The machine has been improved beyond the wildest dreams of men. It has put into their hands the means of conquering nature in the struggle for existence. Without going into details of the subsequent development of the machine it is necessary to point out that the struggle between the various groups of manufacturers in their struggle to produce a cheaper commodity than their rival and thus capture trade, has led to enormous strides in the mechanical world.

The introduction of the machine brought about the overthrow of feudalism and the introduction of capitalism; so also the greater development of the machine is bringing about the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of socialism. As in previous sytems of society, we see that capitalism will die by the very cause of its birth.

What effect has the machine upon the workers? The machine increases production a thousandfold, thus making the task of providing the necessities of life a comparatively easy task.

The introduction of improved machinery increases unemployment. The machine replaces the craftsman with unskilled labor. The machine fosters the introduction of woman and child labor in industries previously worked exclusively by the male sex. The machine levels the standards of labor—the skilled tradesman becomes a machine minder.

The machine causes such a great division of labor that the craftsman no longer exists. At best he is a specialist, usually performing one particular set of operations, such operations being but a part of any finished commodity.

The machine has forced the workers to abandon the obsolete method of craft union organisation based upon craft skill, for the saner method of organising upon industrial lines.

The machine has made the production of the necessaries of life a social operation. Each individual member of society is dependent upon his fellow-workers for the means of life.

As I have pointed out, the method of production determines the superstructure of society. The present system of production is carried on by what we know as the wages system. By this system the workers are robbed of practically the whole of the products of their labor. The laws, social institutions, governments and prevailing religious beliefs uphold the present system of society, just as the prevailing laws and social institutions of the system of chattel slavery and feudalism supported those respective systems.

The present system is based upon private property and the exploitation of the working class. The laws, religious institutions, ethical codes and morals of capitalist society are based upon and formed by this exploitation; therefore the State and powers of the State supports such a system, and the Parliament, which is the executive expression of the class State, are all antagonistic to the welfare of the workers as a class.

Society is no longer able to adapt itself to the system of production, which allows the total result of social labor to be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals.

At a conservative estimate 10 per cent. of the entire population own and control the means of life whereby 90 per cent. of the population of the world exist.

The total result of production is the result of a great social labor, not the result of the efforts of any one individual; therefore the means of life which are socially produced should be socially owned and controlled.

Poverty is increasing year by year. Surplus products which the workers produce, but are unable to enjoy, are piling up. Industrial crises react upon production, the factories are closed and millions of workers are thrown upon the unemployed market.

Society has reached that stage when a complete change or revolution is essential for the continuance of society. Life must be assured to those who produce the means of life.

With the inception of a system of society

Continued on page 4.

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No Compromise

(By Woodicus).

There is much talk amongst Socialists of uniting the Socialist Parties of Australia into one fighting force. Let us hope that such talk will lead to action that will cement into one body those who are true to the principles of Socialism.

The time ahead is strenuous, we must conquer capitalism or go down fighting. If our battalions are solid in the assault on the enemy, great will be the possibility of victory.

In inviting the parties to consider unity, principle must be first, coupled with a full trust in the united membership. The name is of no importance. Call the new organisation the "Superannuated Order of Billygoats" if you like. A name is seldom a good index to the contents of an organisation. Many a high-sounding name is but as water bubbles hiding in a shiny pool.

The A.S.P. desires solidarity amongst Socialists; not a hotch-potch compromise with those who think they are Socialists, look like Socialists, or would like to be Socialists. In this category are the V.S.P. and Queensland Labor Party; one with its noise, the other with its platform of contradictions, a party that wants to destroy and perpetuate capitalism at the one time, that advocates a White Australia policy; a plank based on absurd ethics the outcome of false economies.

The V.S.P., a publicity agency for political quacks, one day with the Labor Party, the next day against it; a party whose sins multiply so fast that we get out of breath keeping count. This party cannot understand why the Socialist Parties of Australia will have none of it, but then the most imperfect are always blind to their imperfections. The foundation of the V.S.P. was rotten; it has grown big but putrid; to amalgamate with it we would have to dilute our policy. In the hour of revolution the spirit of revolt in such an organisation would be as a speck of diamond dust in a ton of mud. In the final clash of classes the dross would assert itself, split its component elements of dear old ladies of both sexes, mild mannered gentlemen, rationalists, limelight hunters, factions useless in a revolt more likely to cause the annihilation of the people they support than bring about emancipation.

The A.S.P. stands for revolution. Nothing less. Revolutionists don't compromise, because they cannot do so without obliterating their revolutionary aim. The issue is the working class versus the master class; there can be no trafficking with half way organisations, no political alliances with reeds that bend wherever the wind may blow.

The road of compromise is slippery and all down hill. If once we start we do not know where we may finish. We are willing to ally ourselves with organisations who stand for revolution by industrial and political means. But for organisations that stand for nothing in particular and everything in general, ours is to criticise and fight, not to affiliate with those whose laggard feet must go a different road to ours.

The V.S.P. may be radical; it is certainly not revolutionary. If its past be any criterion of the future the way of revolution is too hard for its spindle legs and cumbersome body. But still, the past is dead; the future full of hope. Should the V.S.P. accomplish the seemingly impossible in the days that are to be, become a party for revolution, the A.S.P. will not dig up the past and assault the V.S.P. with the skulls of the dead. We will extend the friendly hand and say Comrade.

Slams and Jabs.

By JAYBES.

WHERE SOCIALISTS STAND.

In the issue of the "Melbourne Socialist," dated December 20th appeared the following question and the answer thereto:

> Sir,—A dispute took place between a young friend of mine and myself as to "whether a Socialist places his country before any other." My contention was that a Socialist does NOT place his country before any other, whilst my young friend says that a Socialist does place his country before any other. You will oblige me by briefly giving your decision to this conflict of opinion in your next issue.—Yours in the fight,
> D. ROSEN.
>
> [The fair answer is Yes-No. There are two (and rival) schools of Socialists, one placing nationalism first, and the other internationalism. More anon.—Ed.]

Inasmuch as we consider that the editor of this pseudo Socialist rag is either not sufficiently informed or is trying to side-step the question we take the liberty of taking this thing upon ourselves and setting our comrade, D. Rosen, on the right track.

A fair answer is NOT "Yes-No." Yes-No is no answer, and only points out the position of this so-called socialist organisation.

Yes-No is the attitude of the fakir and the fraud. It is a running with the hare and chasing with the hound.

Bernard Shaw must have had the editor of the Melbourne "Socialist" in mind when he said "There is nothing the matter with Socialism except the Socialists.

Socialism, Comrade Rosen, stands for the overthrow of the capitalist system. Wars are waged in the interests of the capitalist system. Socialism recognised that society is divided into two classes—the masters and the slaves. This being so, it stands to reason that the slaves have no country to place either first or last. The Socialists (I mean those who understand what Socialism means) recognise only one thing, and that is the Class Struggle. They further recognise that in that struggle they must unite with the wage slaves of all other countries for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. To the Socialist the accidental happening of having been born in a certain portion of the globe is NEVER taken into consideration.

Socialism cannot be nationalism. Nationalism is the antithesis of socialism.

It is hardly to be wondered at that the V.S.P. is the home of "WHAT-NOTS" when it dishes out rubbish of this description in the name of Socialism.

• • •

LEGLESS SOLDIERS JOBLESS.

In the Sydney "Sun" appeared a long list of advertisements asking the job owning parasites to hire the damaged goods of the working class.

> "Young man, left arm amputated, right foot off, desires work as tally clerk."
>
> "Man, middle aged, blind in one eye and right leg amputated, desires work as lift man."

We predicted this at the outbreak of the war. We know the capitalist class better than he knows himself. When the war broke out flag-flapping and promises were the order of the day. "When you come back, Bill, we will give you your job back." Bill is back, but Bill's labor power being a commodity, and that being inferior—in the same light as a short-winded horse would be to the farmer—Mr. Capitalist is not anxious to hire the hero who defended "democracy and liberty." The only place the returned worker can find his balance is in the revolutionary socialist movement. We therefore call upon the workers from the trenches of France and the trenches of Industry to enlist in the Revolutionary Political Army of Labor—the Australian Socialist Party.

For while the rabble with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Wrangle in selfish strife,
Wrong rules the world,
And whiskered "Justice" sleeps.

—ANO.

"Forward," a British Socialist paper in name, is receiving a few just raps for its attitude in reference to the Bolsheviki movement of Russia. A Socialist paper to hand asks this pseudo paper the question:

"Are you prepared to support Bolshevism as against Australian collectivism?" That is exactly the attitude this paper takes up with the attitude of that other pseudo organ known as the Melbourne "Socialist", so we are not alone in this respect.

• • •

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN SCOTLAND.

It will be interesting to note the resolution passed by the Scottish miners last October—just three months ago:—

> "Whereas we are of the opinion that whatever useful weapon the various craft unions in the mining industry may have served in the past, and whatever achievements they may have to their credit as craft organisations, they are no longer capable of effectively protecting and promoting the interests of the workers in the industry."

One of the five stated objects of the committee is:—

> "The linking up and transformation of all the various unions in the mining industry into One Big Industrial Union, embracing all workers in the industry regardless of occupation, grade, sex, or creed, and organising for the express purpose of taking possession of the industry for the benefit of the whole community."

It is also reported that the Conference promised to do something drastic if John McLean was not released.

Even from cables in the bosses' press we can now see the fear of working class action was the real cause behind the jail doors opening for that valiant fighter in Labor's cause—John McLean.

• • •

The Allied Capitalists are worrying about Germany more so now than when the war was on. Germany during the war was an imperialistic nation, and from a capitalist viewpoint bade fair to long continue as such. The political atmosphere has considerably altered since the signing of the armistice, and from a working-class viewpoint bids fair to alter completely the economic relations between man and man.

If the working class of Germany gain the upper hand, which they undoubtedly will, the capitalistic negotiations at the coming peace conference will hardly be worth the ink it took to write them, for a working-class government to enter into any negotiations with those representing the Allied Capitalists is quite unthinkable.

The aim of a revolutionary government of the workingclass is to abolish for ever the system of Capitalism and institute Socialism.

If the Revolutionists of Germany get control and are forced at the point of the bayonet to sign agreements, they will sign them, but will keep them only until they have might enough to annul them.

• • •

How contradictory the capitalist class is, to be sure. In one breath we are told Germany will have to pay (and of course that means that they will pay in commodities), and in the next breath they are passing resolutions prohibiting the use of German materials in contracts. They can't have it both ways, and methinks they won't have it either way.

• • •

The plutocracy of Finland, according to a Reuter cable, offers the throne to Prince Charles, the second son of the King of Belgium. Judging from the way the common people have been tying tin cans to the tails of the crowned loafers there will be a rush for the job, and we predict that should he be foolish enough to take it he won't hold it long.

• • •

We were told when the war was on that it was a war for the preservation of liberty, and we didn't believe it. Now we find that as soon as the war is over the various groups are scrapping about trade and territory.

In the class war the Socialists ARE NOT fighting for the preservation of something that never did exist; they are fighting for the only liberty that counts "ECONOMIC LIBERTY. When that war is over, the only war in which we concern ourselves, there will be no quarrelling over the possession of trade advantages; humanity will then produce for use and not for profit, and when the profit phase of civilisation is removed the cause of war and the grabbing of territory will go with it.

Capitalism tried very hard to hide its real mission, but even the used-to-be patriotic wage slave is falling to the joke.

• • •

The Italian Capitalists appear to know what's what and why. In their eagerness to grab they landed 2000 troops at the port of Cattara. The Allied capitalists instinctively smelt danger and French and American contingents arrived on the scene to prevent the Italians from running the roost for the benefit of the Italian capitalists.

So you see in their fight for liberty, which spells TERRITORY, they are more than likely to fall out, and "when thieves fall out honest men get their dues."

• • •

Discontent is the mother of progress. Without discontent we would have still been chasing one another in the jungle. When you hear a man say that he is perfectly contented order a coffin and ring up the grave digger—he is dead and doesn't know it.

• • •

We were informed six months ago that the Russian Bolsheviks paid the Germans £300,000,000 in two instalments. To-night I find that the sum was £15,000,000, and this amount is now being handed over by Germany into the common coffers of the Allies. Suppose all this is true—I said suppose—what are we to think of the Allies receiving stolen goods? It was supposed to be a terrible thing for Germany to exact this huge amount from Russia when Russia was crippled, but it was exacted on account of the might Germany held. To-day the MIGHT is in the hands of the Allied nations, and they are proving that MIGHT IS RIGHT; for they are exacting the same toll from Germany as Germany did from Russia. Notwithstanding all the humbug that has been dished out during the war about fighting for right against might it has to come back to the fact that might alone can bring right. In view of this FACT we ask the workers to organise their might—political might and industrial might—so that through it and by it they can ENFORCE right. Might is right!

• • •

BELGIUM BECOMES A TERRITORY THIEF.

The "Poor Little Belgians" who were so much upset about Germany coming in their front door without knocking, and to whom the kind expressions of sympathies from the peoples of the world went out during German occupation, are coming out of their shell. They are proving all that we have contended in the past that in Belgium, as in every other country, there are two classes, the workers and the non-workers. The non-workers include those who are most likely to belong to the Chamber of Commerce (that is the industrial union of the boss). This organisation sitting in Brussels is unanimously in favor of the Belgian annexation of Zeeland and the Maestricht districts. You see that, didn't you—ANNEXATION. There you have it, brother worker. The Belgians or at least the capitalist portion of the Belgians, are anxious to do what the capitalist portion of the Germans did in 1914. There is no difference in the act, or contemplated act, it is all for the one purpose TRADE. It is this and such as this that has brought on wars in the past. The workers are fooled into thinking that patriotism consists in supporting the grabbing proclivities of the class who rob them, and they joyously rush off to shoot or be shot in the interests of trade and territory. This ought to set you thinking if your brain is not completely befuddled by dollar patriotism.

THIRROUL BRANCH.

An Economic Class has now been arranged and will be held every Sunday morning at 10 a.m. in Birch's Hall. The class will be conducted by speakers from Sydney, who will work to the prearranged syllabus. The speakers will afterwards deliver an address on the Thirroul Domain at 3 p.m.

Provisional arrangements are as follows:

January 5—Com. G. Nelson.

January 12—Comrades P. Drew and L. Leece.

January 19—Comrade E. Wetherell.

January 26—Comrades A. S. Reardon and W. Thomas.

Further particulars from P. France, Sec., Thirroul Branch, Phillip St., Thirroul.

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The Structure of the Soviet State.

By John Reed, in the "Liberator".

Through all the chorus of abuse and misrepresentation directed against the Russian Soviets by the capitalist press, there runs a voice shrill with a sort of panic, which cries: "There is no government in Russia! There is no organisations among the Russian workers! It will not work! It will not work!"

There is method in the slander.

As all real Socialists know, and as we who have seen the Russian Revolution can testify, there is today in Moscow and throughout all the cities and towns of the Russian land a highly complex political structure, which is upheld by the vast majority of the people, and which is functioning as well as any newly-born popular government ever functioned. Also the workers of Russia have fashioned from the necessities and the demands of life an economic organisation which is evolving into a true industrial democracy.

In my last article I tried to paint a picture of proletarian Russia in action; here I shall sketch the framework of the Soviet State.

History of the Soviets.

The Soviet state is based upon the Soviets—or Councils—of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

These Councils—institutions so characteristic of the Russian Revolution—originated in 1905, when, during the first general strike of the workers, Petrograd factories and labor organisations sent delegates to a Central Committee. This Strike Committee was named the Council of Workers' Deputies. It called the second general strike of the fall of 1905, sent out organisers all over Russia, and for a short time was recognised by the Imperial Government as the authorised spokesman of the revolutionary Russian working-class.

Upon the failure of the 1905 Revolution, the members of the Council either fled or were sent to Siberia. But so astoundingly effective as a political organ was this type of union that all the revolutionary parties included a Council of Workers' Deputies in their plans for the next uprising.

In March, 1917, when, in the face of all Russia roaring like a sea, the Tsar abdicated and Grande Duke Michael declined the throne, and the reluctant Duma was forced to assume the reins of government, the Council of Workers' Deputies sprang full-fledged into being. In a few days it was enlarged to include delegates from the Army, and called the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Except for Kerensky, the Duma Committee was composed of bourgeois, and had no connection with the revolutionary masses whatever. Fighting had to be done, order had to be restored, the front [illegible]. The Duma members had [illegible] these duties; they were [illegible] appeal to the representatives of the workers and soldiers—in other words, the Council. The Council took charge of the work of the Revolution, of coordinating the activities of the people, preserving order. Moreover, it assumed the task of assuring the Revolution against its betrayal by the bourgeoisie.

From the moment when the Duma was forced to appeal to the Council, two governments existed in Russia, and these two governments struggled for the mastery until November, when the Soviets, with the Bolsheviki in control, overthrew the Coalition Government.

There were, as I have said, Soviets both of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Somewhat later there came into being Soviets of Peasants' Deputies. In most cities the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets met together; they also held their All-Russian Congress jointly. The Peasants' Soviets, however, were held aloof by reactionary elements in control, and did not join with the workers and soldiers until the November revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Government.

Constitution of the Soviets.

The Soviet is based directly upon the workers in the factories and the peasants in the fields.

Until the spring of 1918 there existed Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies. These were abolished after the demobilisation of the old army after the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, when the soldiers were absorbed into the factories and the farms.

At first the delegates of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Soviets were elected according to rules which varied with the needs and population of different localities. In some villages the peasant chose one delegate for each fifty voters. Soldiers in garrison were given a certain number of delegates for each regiment regardless of its strength; the army in the field, however, had a different method of electing their Soviets. As for the workers in the great cities, they soon found out that their Soviets became unwieldy unless the delegates were limited to one for five hundred. In the same way, the first two all-Russian Congresses of Soviets were roughly based upon one delegate for each twenty-five thousand voters, but in fact the delegates represented constituencies of various sizes.

Until February, 1918, anybody could vote for delegates to the Soviets. **Even had the bourgeois organised and demanded representation in the Soviets they would have been given it.** For example, during the regime of the Provisional Government, there was **bourgeois** representation in the Petrograd Soviet—a delegate of the Union of Professional Men, which comprised doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc.

Last March the constitution of the Soviets was worked out in detail and applied universally.

It restricted the franchise to:

"Citizens of the Russian Socialist Republic of both sexes who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election.

"All who have acquired the means of living [illegible]

Excluded from voting were employers of labor for profit; persons who lived on unearned increment; merchants and agents of private business; employees of religious communities; former members of the police and gendarmerie; the former ruling dynasty; mentally defective; the deaf and dumb; and those who had been punished for **selfish and dishonorable misdemeanors.**

As far as the peasants are concerned, each hundred peasants in the villages select one representative to the Volost, or Township, Soviet. These Volost Soviets send delegates to the Uyezd, or County, Soviet, which, in turn, sends delegates to the Oblast, or Province, Soviet, to which also are elected delegates from the Workers' Soviets in the cities.

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which was in operation when I was in Russia, may serve as an example of how the urban units of government function under the Socialist State.

It consisted of about 1,200 deputies, and in normal circumstances held a plenary session every two weeks. In the meantime it elected a Central Executive Committee of 110 members, based upon party proportionality, and this Central Executive Committee **added to itself by invitation** delegates from the central committees of all the political parties, from the central committees of the Professional Unions, the Factory Shop Committees, and other democratic organisations.

Besides the big City Soviet, there were also Rayon, or Ward, Soviets. These were made up of the deputies elected from each ward to the City Soviet, and administered their part of the city. Naturally, in some wards there were no factories, and therefore, normally, no representation of those wards, either in the City Soviet or in Ward Soviets of their own. But the Soviet system is extremely flexible, and if the cooks and waiters, or the street sweepers, or the courtyard servants, or the cab drivers of that ward organised and demanded representation, they were allowed delegates.

Elections of delegates **are based on proportional representation**, which means that the political parties are represented in exact proportion to the number of votes in the whole city. And it is **politcial parties and programmes** which are voted for—not candidates. **The candidates are designated by the central committees of the political parties, which can replace them by other party members. Also, the delegates are not elected for any particular term, but are subject to recall at any time.**

No political body more sensitive and responsive to the popular will was ever invented. And this was necessary, for in time of revolution, the popular will changes with great rapidity. For example, during the first week of December, 1917, there were parades and demonstrations in favor of the Constituent Assembly—that is to say, against the Soviet power. One of these parades was fired on by some irresponsible Red Guards, and several people killed. The reaction to this stupid violence was immediate. Within twelve hours the complexion of the Petrograd Soviet changed. More than a dozen Bolshevik deputies were withdrawn, and replaced by Mensheviki. And it was three weeks before public sentiment subsided—before the Mensheviki were one by one retired and the Bolsheviki sent back.

(Continued next issue).

The A.S.P. Annual Conference

ANNUAL REPORT, 1918.

Comrades,

The rattle of the murder machine at last is over. For a little space there is silence. For over four years our movement has had to suffer the merciless attempts at suppression on the part of the master class, who make "a war for Freedom and Democracy," the excuse for robbing us of the essential elements of freedom and democracy,—Freedom of speech and of the press. But in spite of all that the capitalist class have been able to accomplish in that direction, it is gratifying and a matter for some pardonable pride to record that the A.S.P. has not merely held its own, but has, especially since last conference, made very great strides in the extent of its propaganda and the consequent increase in membership.

To present the events that have transpired since last we met in conference, in ordered sequence, I would remind you that in the matter of unity, conference passed a resolution stating that we were prepared at all times to unite on scientific principles, leaving all minor matters to a vote of combined organisations. Armed with these instructions, delegates from the party met representatives of the S.L.P. in April last, but after the A.S.P. position had been stated the S.L.P. delegates withdrew, claiming that they had been called together under false pretences. The meeting ended in disorder, and nothing further was done in the matter. However, a group of workers in Bankstown, N.S.W. invited the A.S.P. and S.L.P. to send a speaker along on May 12th, as they were anxious to link up with the movement, and were not quite clear as to the position of the two parties. Com. Reardon represented the A.S.P., and E. E. Judd the S.L.P. The meeting resolved itself into a debate between the two representatives, during [illegible] of Unity was—**THAT THE NAME OF THE PARTY BE THE S.L.P. AND THE PAPER NAMES "I.S." AND "PEOPLE" BE DROPPED AND A NEW NAME SUBMITTED.** From which it will be seen that at that time at least, the S.L.P. desired to impose conditions that are outside of scientific Marxian principles, and if they insist on that attitude they must certainly lose claim to being a Scientific Marxian Party.

As far as the State of Queensland is concerned, the Party has to admit of a setback in the matter of the loss of two of its branches, Mt. Larcom and Brisbane both having gone out of existence for the time being. Contributary causes may be set down in the first place to economic causes that have forced party members of both places to seek elsewhere for a market for their labor. Secondly, the inability, owing to the distance for headquarters to send capable men to clear up any misunderstandings that arise from time to time, relative to the principles of the movement; and herein lies a strong argument in favor of the appointment of a party organiser at the earliest possible date. To these causes one might possibly be justified in suggesting that the present wave of "Ryanitis" which is sweeping over the State of Queensland may have something to do with it. In this regard, however, we can console ourselves with the reflection that a big disappointment awaits the workers who anticipate so much from the reformers of the Ryan type, and in the reaction our movement must benefit.

As regards the movement elsewhere, we have to record a very excellent advance. In the last 12 months, speakers from headquarters have held meetings in such places as Newcastle, Kurri, Kurri, Lithgow, Portland, Cullen Bullen, Corrimal, and Thirroul, with such definite results as the formation of large branches in Newcastle and Thirroul, that are themselves now carrying on regular and solid propaganda work. To this can be added the fact that a considerable number of members at large have joined up from various parts of the Commonwealth, many of whom have been responsible for the arrangements in connection with the meetings held in the aforementioned places.

The past year has seen the various workers' organisations united for some express purpose, such as the Freedom of Speech League, the Dependents of I.W.W. Prisoners' Relief Committee, etc., and on each occasion the A.S.P. has taken an active part, being at all times prepared to fight for and help safeguard the interests of the working class.

Besides endeavouring to consummate unity with the S.L.P. an attempt was made to bring the Sydney S.D.L. and the A.S.P. together. Whilst the delegates at the conference convened for that purpose were wholly in favor of the proposal to unite on Marxian principles, the general meeting of the S.D.L. turned the matter down, and decided to continue on their way of compromise, a la Kerensky. However, arrangements are in progress for a debate on the position of the two parties, and same will we hope eventuate early in the New Year.

Speaking generally then, the Party has made excellent progress during the past year, and whilst it has been claimed in some quarters that there has never been [illegible] for our existence as a party, [illegible] remains that we are the only working class party in Australia that has justified its existence, whilst on every hand we can see "Movements that do not MOVE."

Whilst we pride ourselves on these things, we do not overlook the fact that progress has only been made possible by the loyal support of the branches and members at large, and in making plans for the future we do so in the knowledge that the comrades of the A.S.P. are prepared to whole-heartedly co-operate in any action that will interpret in deeds our slogan of NO COMPROMISE and bring us ever nearer to our goal of Emancipation from Wage Slavery.

As to the nearness of that goal, who shall have any doubt. The happening in Europe confirm us in our belief that the REVOLUTION is on. Our duty to our class demands of us, that we who understand the development of the times shall get ready to take advantage of the situation that must develop in the near future. Getting ready with our political organisation to capture the Political State and abolish it as an instrument of class oppression, and taking a lesson from our comrades in Russia, organising industrially in order that production shall not be interfered with and the forces of counter revolution assisted by the very starvation of the workers that must follow if chaos supervenes. In this spirit, then, comrades, and with these intentions do we face with confidence whatever the future may provide, organising, educating and making clear the way for the march of the Iron Battalions of the Proletariat.

A. S. REARDON, Gen. Sec.

SIMONOFF'S CASE.

In last week's issue, under the above heading, the following appeared:

". . . Independent of whether the authorities recognise Comrade Peter Simonoff as the Bolshevik representative or not, we do not recognise him. . . ."

The second not was an error on the part of the lino., which owing to the rush caused by the holidays, was overlooked. The part referred should have read:

"Independent of whether the authorities recognise Comrade P. Simonoff as the Bolshevik representative or not, we do recognise him as the lawful representative of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic."

REVOLUTION.

(Continued.)

based upon production for use instead of profit, the great inventions of the mechanical world will be utilised in reducing the hours of labor and making labor as light and pleasant as possible. Until then the machine will not be a "labor saving" device in the true sense of the word, but simply an instrument for the exploitation of the workers.

The present system of society is but the resulting growth of many previous systems, and the forerunner of a more advanced stage of social development which we know as socialism.

The downfall of systems has simply been the overthow of one ruling class by another. With the coming of an Industrial Commonwealth based upon the common ownership of the machinery of production, it is very apparent that class rule and institutions based upon class interests must also come to an end. Under Socialist society there will be but one class, the producing class. No person who is fit to labor will live upon the labor of another. Each will work for the benefit of the whole community and society will labor for the greatest development of the individual.

Revolution is inevitable. Organise and make it as easy as possible.

"THE TAINT."

Like some vile poison which travels to the most secret parts of the body, rendering it all vile, so the poison of capitalism permeates every institution of present-day civilisation. There are institutions and movements in society with plenty of capacity for good, but which take on the character of their capitalistic environment and become mercenary and debased. Based as our present society is on the exploitation of the great mass of the people by a few privileged individuals—a society the primary necessity for which is that a large portion of the people remain in a state of degradation—how can anything which is essentially noble and pure remain so for any length of time? No matter what institutions or movements are placed under the microscope of socialist thought, the taint is there. Take politics. Even in the minds of those hostile to our propaganda the word "politician" is rapidly becoming a synonym for "office seeker and humbug." Or religion. Where a religion is dependent for its existence upon the charity of a bigoted idle class there can be no honesty or truth.

As socialists, however, the sorry state of political and religious activity concerns us little. But nowhere is this taint making more disastrous mischief than in the sphere of art. Our literature (especially fiction) is taking on the character of a cesspool, and the pernicious influence is rapidly spreading to sculpture and painting. With the growth of capitalism the character of literature has entirely changed and our leading novelists have prostituted their genius in holding up the mirror, not to portray the visions of a happier freer world, but to revel in the chaos and misery of our so-called civilisation. The most esteemed novelists of our age are those who can most minutely analyse the feelings and passions of the courtesan, rogue and voluptuary. Those who descend into the lowest depths of filth are placed on the highest pinnacle of fame. It could not be otherwise. Could a lily blossom in a dirt-box? On the stage it is no longer "profitable" to produce the heroic dramas of the ancient playwrights. Juliet has been superseded by Sappho, Hamlet by an unfortunate youth who suffers from syphilis. Our painters in this mercenary age are concerned with painting the portrait of Mrs. Boodle, the wife of the local mayor who made his fortune as a draper, or of the Marchioness of the Fiji Islands.

Let us leave this unsavoury subject and imagine what will happen when the workers' commonwealth is established. The thoughts and passions of a people freed from the degradation of the wage system will be embodied in poems and plays such as were never heard upon earth. The artists of the race will give free rein to their most exalted impulses, unfettered by the degrading patronage of a ruling class. Human thought shall blossom like an opening rose. The spirits of the ancient poets who sang ere capitalism came will descend upon the earth, and love and joy will again become the deathless theme of immortal bards.

M. LOPES. —Exchange.

MELBOURNE LECTURES!

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A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

THIRROUL BRANCH.

On December 22nd, we of Thirroul Branch had with us, as propagandists, Comrades Sadler, Drew and Reardon.

These comrades put the case of the worker in a convincing and thorough manner. Comrade Drew kept his audience listening intently to his address on the history of the working-class movement, and their efforts towards emancipation.

Com. Reardon made a fine fighting and spirited effort, which literally took his hearers off their feet. It was the goods delivered in a style that left no room for contradiction or challenge when question time came.

Paper sales are improving with this branch.

We are booked up with speakers for some weeks ahead; and as we have an ideal spot for pushing the principles of the party, we intend to work to that end.

R. F. SUTHERLAND,
Press Correspondent.

A PROTEST FROM RUSSIAN WORKERS.

(Editor "I.S.").

Townsville.

Dear Comrades,—Now that the war has ended and even war prisoners are being released the world over, we, citizens of Free Russia, cannot understand why we should be kept in this country any longer. Nevertheless, the authorities of Australia, by every means, endeavor to prevent us and refused the passports to many of us, who desired to leave for Russia.

As our sitaition here is so peculiar at present—a situation which is even uncomparable with war prisoners—we find that the only hope and remedy remain in our hands. It is to appeal to all workers throughout this country to help us.

With the purpose to discuss the above-mentioned question, a well attended meeting of Russians has been held in the Royal Theatre on Sunday, December 15th, whereupon the following resolution was unanimously carried, which I, as chairman of the meeting, was instructed to forward for publication in the "International Socialist":—

1.—"This meeting of Russian citizens in Townsville emphatically protested against the unjust action of the authorities of Australia towards us, as citizens of a Free Republic, which they manifested in refusing free passages from Australia."

2.—"Finding that our demand is just and fully right, but being in the position of those who are not recognised and who are not considered, we are compelled to appeal to all the SOCIALIST—TEN . . . . organised proletariat of Australia for co-operation and support. If the authorities of Australia still remain deaf to the voice of justice, then we hope and believe that the toiling masses will hear us and do everything possible, and we depend upon them for our release from this war-camp.

Fraternally yours,
V. PIKUNOFF.

... The ... Australian Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

Objective.

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests leads to a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, one section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

Political Action and the State.

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that [illegible] and coerces [illegible], which is reflected in parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class [illegible] the workers in the industrial field. [illegible] political expression for their economic organisation.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism; for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the employing class, because it is a relic of a lower stage in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised alert expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production.

The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit on the industrial field.

The A.S.P. therefore endorses the 1916 preamble of the W.I.I.U.

As to Economic Interpretation of History.

The A.S.P. pledges itself to the materialistic interpretation of history, which asserts that the transition from one system of society to another, as in the past, from primitive communism to chattel slavery, from chattel slavery to feudalism, and from feudalism to the present Capitalist State, has been the result of new and improved methods of production.

All the institutions of any period of society are moulded by the prevailing economic conditions. The religious, juridical, educational and social institutions, therefore reflect the interests of the dominant class. Thus these institutions and their ideology bolster up the capitalist system.

As to Militarism.

The A.S.P. declares itself uncompromisingly hostile to all forms of armaments and militarism, recognising that the armed forces will be used to buttress up capitalism, and to hold down the workers. The A.S.P. further recognises that the energies of the working class can be better utilised in building up their industrial and political organisations, which shall finally render war impossible, as such organisations by international affiliation and alliances between the working classes of all nations will be the chief guarantee of the peace of the world.

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LECTURE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

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ON WET SUNDAYS WHEN IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO HOLD A MEETING ON THE DOMAIN, AN AFTERNOON MEETING WILL BE HELD IN THE A.S.P. HALL, 369 PITT ST., COMMENCING AT 2.45.

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THE ECONOMIC CLASS IS BEING HELD IN SYDNEY BRANCH HALL EVERY THURSDAY EVENING. ALL THOSE WHO DESIRE A KNOWLEDGE OF ECONOMICS SHOULD MAKE SURE OF ATTENDING.

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-: The Australian Socialist Party. :-

OBJECTIVE.

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution

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A. S. REARDON, Gen. Sec.- Treas.

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Any Branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this Office.

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SOCIALIST HALL, SULPHIDE ST.

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